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W.M. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

VOL. XVII.—NO. 10.

REFUGEE OF OPPRESSION.

OF A DEMAGOGUE AND TRAITOR TO THE CAUSE OF LIBERTY.

On the evening of February 18th, there was a meeting of the war spirits in and around Boston, with the McLeods, for the purpose of presenting a sword to that unprincipled adventurer, Colonel Cushing. The notorious yet "Honorable" (?) Gen. Haleakau presided on the occasion, and made the following villainous speech:—

We are assembled here, ladies and gentlemen, to pay a well-merited compliment—the presentation of a sword, from our public spirited citizens, to the commander of the regiment of volunteers from Massachusetts, for the Mexican war.

The services rendered the country by Col. Cushing, in the halls of legislation, and in one of the most important and delicate foreign missions, his character and well-known talents, command our respect, and offer a guarantee for his success in his new military career. But it is for personal considerations alone, highly as we appreciate him, that this compliment is paid.

I referred to him, the head of the volunteers, as a champion to the whole regiment—it is given as a mark of approbation—as the voice of commendation and encouragement to the whole regiment, to our cause in their patriotic and perilous enterprise, the brave men who go forth in defense of the rights of our country, to sustain the honor of the glorious stars and stripes of the Union, and especially to maintain the lofty character for wisdom and valor that our beloved State gained in the revolution, and which her sons have always been maintained when called to fight the battles of their country, whether on the land or the wave.

If our present State rulers are reverent to their God, then God the spirit of the people can remove the dwarf—will ride over and put to shame these almost shameless men. One prominent organ for opposition to this war is, that it is a war for the extension of slavery. You will, I trust, permit me a few remarks on this subject. The cause of slavery in the United States is founded in the British Empire while we were her colonies.

The attempt to abolish it at this time, is traceable to a like cause. If there be any one thing deserving the name of a nation, the utter execution of man, it is the hypocrisy of Great Britain, the government and people of Great Britain, in the support of slavery. They forced negro slavery upon us; they allowed white slavery in their own home-stead till within less than three score years—until 1770 the coal mines of Scotland were worked by white slaves, who, like the cattle and coal, were sold and bought with the mines—since then, their emancipation has taken place with much improvement in their condition, which is inferior to that of the negroes of the South. To a much later period, if not at present, she made slaves of her seamen, and kidnapped ours, under the name of impressment. Our philanthropists could denounce Bonaparte's conscription, and rail against Southern slavery, but never a word of censure against the impressment and slavery of seamen.

Great Britain despises the existence of the slave trade. She could stop it, if she chose.

Governor Nichols wrote to the effect of this, a few years ago, that he could suppress the slave trade in six months, if they would furnish him with two steamers. They were never furnished. Instead, they offer a bounty to slave-dealers—they give five pounds sterling per head to re-exported slaves, and sell the captured vessels back to the slave-dealers as long as the sea lasts.

These slaves, thus taken by the British at various ports, never conveyed back to their own country—they were sent to the British possession—Sierra Leone, on the coast of Africa.

This colony was founded about 1790, by sending two or twelve hundred slaves she stole from the country during the war of the revolution, and has since increased to its present size, some fifty or sixty thousand, by the slaves she has recaptured, stolen from her co-slave traders, and for whom she has paid, not to the traders, but to her own naval officers, some five pounds per head.

Thus re-occupied negroes exist at Sierra Leone, in the most deplorable condition—without social or political rights, and on the scantiest subsistence.

Contest this colony with that of Liberia—the latter founded, mainly, by the truly philanthropic from the slaveholding States.

Liberia has raised the colored man in his social, political and official condition, to an equality with the whites. She is suppressing slavery, and is diffusing civilization and Christianity among the surrounding tribes—she is marching onward with rapid strides to the entire redemption of Africa—and yet, this colony, the offspring of the pure philanthropy, doing only good, encounters the deadly hostility, thinly disguised, of philanthropic England. Her assumed aversion to the African slave trade, means simply a monopoly of the commerce of Africa, and a control over the commerce of the Atlantic. Let us turn now to the philanthropy of her people, as distinguished from that of her government—to her Clarksons, Thompsons and the like, who are affiliated with the abolitionists of this country, and are meddling with slavery at the South, a matter that concerns them not. Where was the philanthropy and love of justice of these men, when England was marching her fleets with the kidnapped slaves of all nations? Dominant in the waters of Lethe. What must be the character of that man, who leaves his own household in disorder and dissipation, that he may, unasked and impertinently, meddle in his neighbor's affairs? What can be thought of the philanthropy of the Clarksons of England, who interfere to change the condition of our negroes, about which they know little—while leaving unnoticed at home, more than ten millions of their fellow-subjects in a more abject condition, morally, intellectually and physically, than that of our slaves—a condition, not the result of bad heresies, but of a long course of vicious legislation? Let this government and that people, if they are Christians, turn to the Bible, and read the parable of the beam and the mote.

If the British deserve our scorn for their hypocrisy and injustice, what shall we say of their spawn, the abolitionists of this country? What shall we think of those here, who are ready to trench on the fundamental principles of our institutions—the right of each State to manage its own internal affairs—who are ready to break up this Union according to the pseudo philanthropists of Great Britain? Be not deceived in this matter. Abolition in Great Britain is founded in impunity—here, at the North, it rests not on philanthropy, but is based on treason. It consorts, and boldly conceals, a deadly hostility to the slaves of the States—to the very foundation of our republican institutions. The states alone, individually, can manage understandingly this entangled case. Massachusetts was the first to abolish slavery—accidentally, rather than designately. At the adoption of the federal constitution, New Hampshire and Massachusetts were the only free States. Pennsylvania had a short time before abolished it progressively. We have now fourteen free States, and with little Delaware, about to assume that rank, and Wisconsin just entering the Union, there will be sixteen free, to fourteen slave States. Slavery is doubtless an evil to those where it exists, but an evil that at the North have no right to correct. The States where it exists will in their own good time apply the corrective. Sudden and entire emancipation would benefit neither master nor slave.

But we must oppose the war, because it is a war for the extension of slavery! We must not acquire California, except with the prohibition of

slavery!

Though Mexico had given great and repeated provocations that would have justified the United States in declaring war, yet they did not declare war. Mexico early announced that the annexation of Texas would be considered an act of war, and in conformity to that declaration, and with no further announcement, she made war. Congress has deliberately and solemnly announced that war existed between the two countries by the act of Mexico, and it is this war thus commenced that we are called upon by every consideration of honor, interest and patriotism to sustain.

A military despot usurped the government of Mexico, and attempted to subject his will and power the independent and confederate State of Texas. A civil war between Mexico and Texas ensued, resulting in the defeat of Mexico, the capture of her military usurper, and the independence of Texas, which independence was recognized by the United States, France and England. Texas wisely sought a union with the United States, and they with equal wisdom admitted her. This was a voluntary act of two independent nations, a marked homage to the value of our political institutions, and gave no cause of war. The United States desired no war—they offered ineffectually conciliation and peace—they have since, again and again, extended the olive branch, which the Mexicans spurn. We have no alternative, then, but a vigorous prosecution of the war, or a craven abandonment of the rights and honor of the country. Bearing this in mind, we go forth in defense of the rights of our country, to sustain the honor of the glorious stars and stripes of the Union, and especially to maintain the lofty character for wisdom and valor that our beloved State gained in the revolution, and which her sons have always been maintained when called to fight the battles of their country, whether on the land or the wave. If our present State rulers are reverent to their God, then God the spirit of the people can remove the dwarf—will ride over and put to shame these almost shameless men. One prominent organ for opposition to this war is, that it is a war for the extension of slavery. You will, I trust, permit me a few remarks on this subject. The cause of slavery in the United States is founded in the British Empire while we were her colonies.

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Here is the speech of Col. Cilley, of N. H., on the Mexican war, in the U. S. Senate, as reported by himself in the National Era. This is Liberty party, with a vengeance! Compared with the speeches of D. P. King, J. R. Giddings, and other Whigs, this speech is not merely contemptible, but atrocious. Nothing can be more cold-blooded than its suggestions as to drilling and augmenting the U. S. troops.

CORRECTED REPORT OF MR. CILLEY'S REMARKS IN THE SENATE.

Mr. CALLEY's resolution requesting the President to withdraw the army from Mexico, being under consideration, Mr. C. addressed the Senate as follows:

Mr. PRESIDENT: I have my reasons for introducing the resolution; and I will, briefly as possible, state some of them. Sir, we are at war with Mexico. As to the manner in which we got into that war, I shall not now undertake to inquire; but I will state that I think the war unnecessary and unjust, and all wrong. If Mexico had wronged us, we should have borne it. There was no necessity for hurrying into fight for very small causes. The President proposes a vigorous prosecution of the war, for procuring an honorable peace, yet it seems that peace is no nearer than it was at the commencement of hostilities. Sir, how are we to get peace? The President says, we must "conquer a peace." How shall we do it? The taking possession of her territory will not give peace. We may keep an army in the Mexican territory for a long time without obtaining peace. We cannot get a peace without negotiation. Well, sir, why not bring our army out of the unhealthy climate into our own country, where we can recruit, organize, and discipline the army, and have some plan of operation which will be efficient, instead of scattering our forces all along the frontier, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific ocean? Sir, it costs too much to prosecute the war in this way, and what is the effect? We are expending a large sum of money in the purchase of Mexican produce, paying them high prices for all that is wanted for our army, enriching their citizens in a large extent, etc. Is this the way to obtain peace? I think not, sir. The commanding general has said, that he considers it impracticable to proceed to Mexico by the way of San Luis Potosi, if this is the case, why not withdraw the army, and make ample preparation to carry out our plans, if we have any? The Senator from Ohio, in the proposition which he submitted to the Senate, I believe, intimates a desire that large reinforcements should be raised and forwarded immediately for the prosecution of the war; but the great objection which rests upon my mind in regard to this sudden increase of the army, is that the troops thus hastily raised must necessarily be undisciplined and unprepared; and if they were enlisted with the utmost dispatch, they could not be concentrated upon the field of military operations before the commencement of the sickly season. Will you send them into Mexico, to contend with their deadly climate, and sacrifice our soldiers to no purpose? I think my plan better, to withdraw our forces to some healthy place within the boundaries of the United States, where the subsistence of the army could be more readily obtained, and then if it is necessary to increase the army in any desirable extent, to have the soldiers well-drilled; let them become inured to service, so that when a blow is to be struck, it may be such a blow as would have the desired effect. What object is intended to be effected by this war, I have yet to learn; but if it is only to obtain a peace, honorable to both countries, I think that can be obtained as well with our army in our own country, until we can have time to have them properly organized and drilled, and have some plan of operation. Sir, it appears that this war is not to be a short one; it will be a protracted war; and why peril the lives of our men, why sacrifice our gallant little army, by obliging them to fight against superior force as to numbers, in strongly fortified towns? I am not for any such hair-breadth escapes as at the battle of Monterey, where General Taylor tells you that it was wonderful that he should have succeeded; and I consider it almost a miracle that he did succeed against such odds. And what would have been the consequence had he not succeeded? Who would or ought to have borne the blame, General Taylor or the Administration? I believe he tells you it was not his plan, but he did it to sustain the Administration. If Vera Cruz is to be occupied in order to march to the city of Mexico you must have at least 50,000 men. No prudent general would undertake to conquer the city of Mexico with less than 50,000 efficient men. Well, sir, will you collect that number of newly levied forces, and send them into Tampico, or any other place in the Mexican territory, to be drilled and disciplined? For they must be disciplined before they will become efficient to contend with the black vomit or the yellow fever. Or do you think that men are soldiers as soon as they enlist? A different opinion, once prevailed. Sir, it will be a new business to the men and also new to the officer. It requires some little time to become accustomed to the camp, as well as to learn the duty of a soldier. Sir, the Senator from Michigan yesterday avowed the opinion that it was unconstitutional for Congress to direct the President as to the course which he should pursue in the prosecution of the war; that the only duty of Congress was to provide him the means he asked for, in the way that he should desire it; and he alone had the right to direct the operations of the army in the way he thought proper. I differ from the Senator in this opinion. I think that it is clearly our duty to deliberate upon the subject, and to propose such measures as we may deem advisable. If we believe those who have the charge of the war are going wrong, it is our duty to propose a better plan. Sir, have we not a right to think on this awful subject of war? Have we nothing to do but vote all the men and money that the President tells us he wants, without inquiring into the matter, because that war exists, or, as the Senator from Michigan said, that it was all summed up in one short word, and that word was war; that we had the constitutional right to do anything, but to do all the President may require, and make him responsible, thereby clearing ourselves of all the responsibility? Is that all that is expected of us by those who sent us here? I differ from the honorable Senator in this opinion. I, for one, am willing to be held responsible for all my votes in this body on all subjects.

The honorable Senator from New York the other day had stated, that we were in possession of two-thirds of the Mexican territory, and one tenth of her population. Where do we do with this territory? Are we to annex it to this Union, and oblige that population to send delegates to this Senate, and to be subject to our laws by compulsion? One possible course is to adopt her form of government, and that agreeable to our free institutions? Or shall we leave them to the territory that we have conquered, or annihilate them? What can be done with the territory under our form of government? I submit, sir, for the sake of argument, that the people residing in that territory were willing to be annexed to the Union, and should make a treaty with Mexico to that effect; it is necessary, Sir, could such a treaty be ratified by this Senate, or could it now be brought into this Union by resolution 2—Would a dispute arise whether it should be free or slave territory? No, sir; the time has gone by for admitting any more slave territory into this Union. It cannot be done. If admitted, it would be a bone of contention that would divide the Union.

Sir, I think we are in a bad condition. We are in a war with Mexico; we are in possession of a large portion of her territory. How are we to extricate ourselves from this war, which has already cost us much blood and treasure, and bids fair to cost a great deal more? How long this war is to continue, God only knows. Sir, I think by withdrawing the army, and, if necessary, by retreating; if, and then, when Mexico sees that we have a force that would knock down all opposition, she would be willing to treat for peace, in this way, and with less cost of blood and treasure, than attempting to put forward an unorganized army into their unhealthy country. Sir, if we are to hold on to this territory that our army now has possession of, it will take a large army to garrison so long a line of frontier, and keep the communication open with our own country. I say, sir, it will take a large army to do this, which will be in addition to the army that is to march to the city of Mexico, to "conquer peace," as the President tells us we must do. And sir, if we must fight before Mexico will retreat, I AM DISPOSED TO STRIKE AT THE HEAD, and let the limbs go. I hope anything that I have said will not be considered as rendering aid to the enemy, for that is not my desire. I look to our own comfort.

From the Anti-Slavery Standard.
WEST-WINFIELD (N. Y.) FAIR—SERIOUS ACCIDENT AND NARROW ESCAPE.

WEST-WINFIELD, 2d mo. 10, 1847.

The anti-slavery women held a Fair here last year, at which they raised in one evening, by their own unaided efforts, the sum little less of sixty dollars. This year they somewhat enlarged their operations, but two of their number being confined by severe sickness for many weeks, put them back considerably; they, however, struggled on, determined to let their heat, and three days ago, their hearts were cheered, and their hands strengthened, by the reception of a box of beautiful things from the pioneer women of Boston. Never was anything more opportune. How much this value was enhanced by coming just in the right time. The Fair is in the large upper hall of our friend L. G. Thomas, who is the keeper of a Temperance House in this place, which does honor both to the keeper, and the temperance cause. I have not been able to visit the hall, but have been informed by Remond, (who is certainly a good judge,) and several others, that it is trimmed in the most exquisite manner—the tables beautifully arranged, and the variety and beauty of the articles entirely beyond description. Everything was in perfect keeping. The Fair opened at one o'clock, this afternoon, all eyes beaming with delight, and all hearts beating with joy. The flag is floating gracefully in the free air, the day as fine as heart could wish, the sleighing superb, and everything promising.

Evening.—They did a fair business in the afternoon, and now the people are pouring in from all quarters, from the surrounding neighborhoods. At an early hour the hall is filled—all is joy and rejoicing. The blessed hour of fruition is at hand; and now the good women, blessings on them, are repaid for all their toil.

7-34 o'clock.

TERRIBLE CRASH!! THE HALL HAS GIVEN WAY!! NO LIVES LOST!

A messenger has this moment arrived, informing me, that two-thirds of the floor of the hall has just given way, and that many women and children, babies, and all their beautiful contents, all went down together in one confused mass. It was all the work of a moment—the terrible crash of the timbers—the bursting of the camphene lamps—the smoke—and the screams of many voices, all conspired to render the scene fearful and terrific. That part of the floor which gave way was over the shed, which was filled with sleighs and horses, and the side which gave way, was toward the street, so that all went down on an inclined plane into the sleighs and snow, all piled up together. The only wonder is that many lives were not lost. Laura Turner was the most injured—no bones broken, or dislocated, but severely bruised and in a helpless condition. One woman was bereft of her senses by a severe blow upon the head, added to her fright. Some had arms—some limbs—some faces—some heads—but only three or four seriously.

All the tables containing the dry goods and fancy articles were in that part of the hall which gave way—and delicately wrought card-tables, and beautiful needle-work, and rich embroidery—and the thousand numberless articles of exquisite workmanship were indiscriminately trampled under foot. Those in the hall above, found themselves unconsciously clinging to each other, without regard to age, condition, sex, or color, while topmost of those below, were relaying as fast as they could, the prostrate mass of humanity beneath them. One good old man, in his flight and haste, fell backwards head foremost into a large water tub full of water, but was extricated without any injury, save the ducking. The universal question was, "Are you hurt? are you hurt? are you hurt?" To this question, one young lady responded, "I have lost my shoe"—"are you hurt?"—"I can't find my shoe"—"are you hurt?" "Don't talk to me now, for I tell you I have lost my shoe, and can't find it." Thus will the ludicrous and laughable oftentimes intrude itself upon the serious and solemn. One little bright-eyed, fair-haired boy, as soon as he was released, jumped up scratching his head, which had received a very severe bump, saying, "I don't care, it didn't hurt me any, but I want my cap." One man caught by the window-sill as the floor receded, and hung there in safety until relieved.

The most melancholy part of the whole affair, is the fact, that the *out-door* gentry indiscriminately rushed to the scene of action, and amid the general confusion, bare nearly all the money which had been taken, which lay upon the tables in purses & bags, and came down amid and the common wreck—and also carried off more than half the goods. It ought not, perhaps, to be wondered at, that in a community where the teachers of the people make a merit of robbing those who stand up in behalf of the perishing bondmen, of their good name and character, and at the same time fellowship those who enslave our own Father's children, that some of the citizens should not scruple to rob, even under the most aggravating circumstances, the slave's friends—circumstances, that would have seen the sympathy of the common pirate, and the aid of the common highwayman.

At a safe calculation, if nothing had occurred to interrupt the progress of the Fair, from \$300 to \$500 would have been realized.

11th. The wounded are all doing well. It is a sublime sight to see how heroically these women stand up under their misfortunes. The fragments of the wreck have been overhauled—some washed—some ironed—some cleaned, and others straightened and "put to rights," and they are going on as bravely as though nothing had happened; and have also expressed their determination to have a Fair next year, even better than this promised to be. A subscription was commenced yesterday, for a bed-quilt, worth \$2 00, to be presented to Abby Kelley Foster—and more than \$5 00 subscribed and paid in, but the paper and money fell into the hands of the freebooters, and already a new subscription is opened for the same purpose. The only fear is, that as the news of the disaster has spread far and wide with great rapidity, that the people will not come in to-day, under the impression that the Fair is closed.

Truly, and faithfully,
J. C. HATHAWAY.

From the National A. S. Standard.

THE STREAK LETTER.

We have hoped that the irrefragable evidence we published last week in relation to the writer in which the "Streak Letter" became public, would bring from the editors of the Chronotype, the Emancipator, and the Charter Oak, a many acknowledgment, at least, that they had been mistaken. Honorable men, men possessed of proper self-respect, and who hope to deserve the respect of others, could do no less than this. Neither of these persons, however, have done so. They have heretofore asserted that this letter was stolen from the hat or the bed-chamber of Mr. Stanton. The positive testimony of men whose veracity cannot be impeached, I produced, proving this assertion to be absolutely false. It is certain that Mr. Stanton had no such correspondence with this writer, as he has heretofore contradicted it, though he must have known that it was downright lie. It is possible, but very improbable, that Messrs. Leavitt and Wright may not have known from Mr. Stanton the exact truth in the premises. If, however, it be the fact that they did not know it, then the guilt and shame of hitherto permitting so infamous a falsehood to be told rests with Mr. Stanton alone. But now that it is proven one beyond contradiction, the guilt and shame belong equally to Messrs. Leavitt and Wright, since they take no measures to contradict a falsehood which they have been the chief instruments in propagating.

So stands the case at present. These men have been guilty, as editors, of an act which, if committed in the private relations of life between man and man, would mark them as only deserving of contempt, and unworthy of the slightest confidence. We make no distinction, however, between the man as an editor, and as a private individual. What one does as an editor, he is responsible for as a man.

If we were ever disposed to use "hard language," we are not in this case. It is one which needs only a clear and plain statement. The severest epithets and the strongest arguments cannot make so contemptible and base an act appear worse than it must seem to be at first sight in the eyes of all right-minded people. On the other hand, no sophistry can palliate it.

The Charter Oak has condescended to notice the letter, which have been recently published. Its faintest bravado is even more disgusting than the silence of the Emancipator and Chronotype. The editors of those papers, we may hope, at least understand their position. Mr. Burleigh, it seems, is

absolutely incapable of understanding that even a dejected master is anything to be ashamed of. We copy his paragraph:

"THE 'STREAK LETTER' FOREVER!" The Liberator, a fortnight since, contained two tolerable long communications concerning this famous letter, aiming to prove that the man who stole it was not "Old Organization," at a time when there was no other, and did not steal it from Mr. Stanton's hat—but copied it from a letter left by accident among business papers in a committee room. A. S. Standard asks very civilly, "Will the Charter Oak find place for this in its weekly Dodge-podge of cast and bilgewater?" We certainly would rather Guy, if we had such an assortment, and think better of your suggestion for assigning them so proper a department.

From the U. S. Gazette.

SLAVERY.

A public meeting has been held at Richmond, upon the subject of Wilcox's resolutions, that have passed the House of Representatives at Washington. Resolutions were adopted, declaring the spirit of Mr. Wilcox's proviso in opposition to the Constitution of the United States; declaring it to be the duty of the Government to disregard the proviso, and resolving "that upon this absorbing question, all differences of political opinion should be forgotten, and all Virginians and Southerners should unite, heart and hand, in resisting, even to death, the doctrines of said proviso."

In addition to the above, which is pretty plain,

Mr. Scott offered a resolution, which felt the member unpreserved upon the question of war or peace:

This meeting now holds and affirms the constitutional right of all citizens of the United States to take their property, of every description, whether the same be slaves or in any other form, into all the territory which is now within the boundaries of the nation, south of 36° 30', north latitude, and into all the territory which may be hereafter acquired south of that line, and that we will hold any attempt to interfere with the exercise of this right as in violation of the Constitution of the United States, and absolutely void and of no effect, and that we, by all peaceful means, and this finding, by ARMS, if necessary, sustain such of our fellow-citizens as may elect to settle within any such territory hereafter acquired, in the maintenance of their rights thus to settle and take with them their slaves.

The above was unanimously adopted. It of course, will be read with interest. The determination to take up arms against the Government of the United States is openly expressed. This is a part of the evils of annexation; and the nation is likely to be placed before the world in a character of prosecuting a war for territory, and acquiring territory to increase the area of slavery, and it may be added, of sustaining the principle of slavery by a severe blow upon the head, added to her fright. Some bad arms—some limbs—some faces—some heads—but only three or four seriously.

All the tables containing the dry goods and fancy articles were in that part of the hall which gave way—and delicately wrought card-tables, and beautiful needle-work, and rich embroidery—and the thousand numberless articles of exquisite workmanship were indiscriminately trampled under foot.

Those in the hall above, found themselves unconsciously clinging to each other, without regard to age, condition, sex, or color, while topmost of those below, were relaying as fast as they could, the prostrate mass of humanity beneath them.

One good old man, in his flight and haste, fell backwards head foremost into a large water tub full of water, but was extricated without any injury, save the ducking. The universal question was,

"Are you hurt? are you hurt? are you hurt?" To this question, one young lady responded,

"I have lost my shoe"—"are you hurt?"—"I can't find my shoe"—"are you hurt?" "Don't talk to me now, for I tell you I have lost my shoe, and can't find it."

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Truly, and faithfully,
J. C. HATHAWAY.

From the National A. S. Standard.

THE STREAK LETTER.

BOSTON, MARCH 5, 1847.

THE RANSOM OF DOUGLASS.

We admit into our columns, with considerable reluctance, two more communications on this subject, though both of them agree with us as to the rightfulness and expediency of paying this ransom. Our reluctance proceeds from the conviction, that there is really no principle involved in the case; and where it is merely a question of policy, which does not relate to moral action, and on which there may be honest variances of opinion, according to the imagination or judgment of different persons, we do not feel inclined to excite or continue a protracted discussion.

If there are those who believe that it is wrong, per se, to extiricate a human being from a horrid doom by paying a ransom, we can only say, that we think their heads are confused by confounding things which bear no analogy to each other. Human liberty is of incomparably greater value than money; and to secure the former, who could be less than a master? but to pay the latter, in that strength of mind, and in the force of his intellect, in the greatness of his spirit, in the power of his eloquence, in the sublimity of his cause, Doubtless they think they would, but they're mistaken.

Certainly, we shall be better satisfied that they would not accept "free papers," when they are placed in Douglass's situation before he received his pass.

It is easy to say what another should be willing to suffer, to promote a good cause, or to produce an electric effect! It alters the case as prodigiously when we are to be the sufferers! No doubt if a fugitive slave could stand before an assembly, and show the warm blood dripping from his incised back, with ghastly wounds all freshly made, it would create a powerful sensation; but who would say that he ought not to allow those wounds to be healed, or that blood to be washed away, because it would render his appeal less powerful, and diminish the sympathy felt in his own case?

It is a fact, that Douglass is not the only slave in the land, instead of cotton; they eat free labor sugar and rice; and they thank God that they are not like those anti-slavery publicans and sinners, whose garments are made of slave-grown cotton, and whose tea is sweetened with slave-grown sugar.

These are of the race of Pharisees and hypocrites, who flourished eighteen hundred years ago; and as no persecution is the consequence of their choice of food and wearing apparel—as it subjects them to no opprobrium—as it creates no disturbance in the community—as it leaves their cherished Society unharmed—as it calls forth no denunciations from the slaveholders—as it has the form of abolitionism (but without the power)—and as it furnishes them with pretext to do nothing more for the

REV. DR. DURBIN'S PLAN.
We again allude to the plan of this Rev. D. D. for the abolition of slavery. It is—1. Remuneration to the slaveholders from the Treasury of the U. States—as an act of justice! 2. This appropriation to be made constitutionally, by an amendment to the Constitution to that effect. 3. The removal of the emancipated slaves from the country; because they cannot remain among us Christians (?) and Republicans (?) without being either subdued or exterminated!!!

As to the aggregate value of the slaves, he computes it at \$50 millions of dollars. Several years ago, Henry Clay, in a pro-slavery speech in the U. S. Senate, estimated their value at \$200 millions of dollars; and they have increased numerically very considerably since that time. With the annexation of Texas, and the prospect of additional slave territory taken from Mexico, the slaves in all the slaveholding States have increased in value, and consequently, to be estimated accordingly. The calculation of this "divine" man, therefore, is at least tenfold short of the actual market value of the slaves. But this is of no consequence. His scheme is base and chimerical, aside from its pecuniary blindness.

The idea of so amending the Constitution as to give Congress the power of abolishing slavery throughout the country, by the purchase of the slave population, is equally preposterous.

The project for banishing this population to the coast of Africa, suggested by Durbin, is the old colonization one, which has long since been shown to be impracticable as it is nefarious. His horrid notion, that two distinct races of men cannot exist on the same soil, in the enjoyment of equal political and social rights and privileges, is the star of the American Colonization Society has been constantly inculecating ever since that anti-Christian body was organized; and the effect of it has been disastrous upon the free colored and slave populations, as well as upon public sentiment. It has aimed to discourage the emancipation of those who are in the house of bondage, to induce the enactment of cruel laws against free colored persons in the slave States, and to remove the pressure of guilt from the American conscience for our national sins. What can more clearly demonstrate the spuriousness of the religion of any man, than the proposal to banish from a spot of light and knowledge, to a land of darkness and barbarism, across a stormy ocean, thousands of able slaves, four millions of people, simply because God has given them "a skin not colored like ours"? But this is the religion of Dr. Durbin—"sugar or the devil," Dr. Durbin deals in the conduct of such persecutors, by saying that this expulsion of the colored population would result in the creation of a Christian State in Africa, made up of his own children, who would diffuse the gospel of Jesus Christ throughout that vast continent!

But he neglects to add, that if such an expulsion were possible, another result (not fanciful, but certain) would be, the outpouring of many a vital of religion upon this inopportune land, and the everlasting shame and infamy of the American people.

ANNUAL REPORT.

The Fifteenth Annual Report of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society is just published. Every member of the Society is entitled to a copy, which can be obtained by calling at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill. To others, the price is 25 cents. The Report is handsomely printed and occupies, with the proceedings of the annual meeting, 36 octavo pages. It discusses the prominent events, connected with our cause, that have happened during the past year, both at home and abroad, and with much ability. The labor of preparing such a Report, from year to year, is very great; but for many years in succession, Mr. Quincy has gratuitously performed it, in addition to his valuable efforts, with great ability. Most deeply is the cause indebted to this vigilant, untiring and disinterested advocate.

MEMORANDUM.—An Anti-Slavery party continues recently held in Ohio, George Bradburn sent the following veracious resolution, which I quote:

THE UNITARIANS AND SLAVERY.
BROOKLYN, (Ct.) Feb. 22, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR:
In the "Liberator" of Friday last is a letter, with the heading "The Unitarians," which requires, I think, a few words of explanation, in justice to the individuals mentioned therein; although, in that letter, I have no right to speak for more than one of them.

I do not regret the publication of that letter; it may do good; I think it will. So far as it may be thought to contain a just rebuke of myself, I do not object to it. If I am in any error, and especially in one so serious as to be doing anything to sustain slavery, I will consider him my trusty friend, who, in the spirit of friendship, will point out to me that error. I know not who your correspondent "A." is; but I think, with his understanding of the facts, he has shown no more than a just astonishment, and expressed no more than a just rebuke.

But, as he represents the facts, they do not appear quite as they are.

J. B. Whitridge, M. D., of South Carolina, is not the Vice President of the American Unitarian Association, but one of fifteen Vice Presidents—not a very material distinction, indeed; but the reason of my making it will be by appear.

This gentleman was elected one of the Vice-Presidents of the A. U. A. in May last, for the first time.

The matter of choosing officers, and most other business, indeed, has been the most fervent contest in that body, ever since I have been a member of it (12 or 13 years)—it being generally arranged beforehand. No want of confidence in this way of proceeding has manifested itself till recently. Last year, for the first time, the members of the Association resolved to take the choice of officers more directly into their own hands, and they spent some time in deciding what candidates they would support for the principal officers. Whether the list of Vice Presidents was then canvassed by the meeting, I do not recollect; if it were, the name of Dr. Whitridge made no impression on my mind; and I think I may venture to say that the name passed, with the other Vice Presidents, without any knowledge, on the part of many present, of the individual bearing it. I think probably the majority of the members were so situated. I know that some present would have strenuously objected to his election, had it been known, or suspected, that he was a slaveholder. The first intimation I had of this fact was from a paragraph in a number of the Liberator in August last. I think. That paper I laid aside for future reference.

Lindley Coates's wife or child was in the grasp of an unprincipled villain of despotic power, and there was nothing but silver or gold would soften his heart, does not every body believe, who knows him, that a moment of time under such circumstances would convert him into a slave-buyer?

The above statement will, I think, absolve the most of the members of the Association from any intentional participation in the election of a slaveholder to office. That it may show that we are sufficiently watchful, not sufficiently jealous of the honor of the religion they aim to serve, perhaps I must admit.

The "Protest" of the 173 Unitarian ministers, of which "A." speaks, was signed in 1845. Dr. Whitridge, if I am not mistaken, was not elected until 1846; and then in a manner not likely to call particular attention to his case, his name standing with fourteen others on a list, which it had been the custom for a long series of years simply to read to the meeting, and to pronounce elected, without a scrutinizing vote. It is not correct, then, to say to the signers of that protest, as "A." does, that "the very next act they do," after signing the Protest, is to choose a slaveholder for the Vice President; especially do I believe that the implied charge, that they knowingly voted for such an individual, is very unjust to the signers of that Protest generally.

Nevertheless, I am bound to state, that the name of the Hon. James M. Wayne, of Georgia, has stood on the list of Vice Presidents of the A. U. A. for many years; and the question, "Is he a slaveholder?" has never been raised, to my knowledge. I can only account for it on the supposition of the little attention given to choosing their officers.

I must further say, that the Rev. Orville Dewey, D. D., of New-York, is the present PRESIDENT of the A. U. A. If it is true that he has recently said at Washington, what he is publicly reported to have said, respecting slavery and abolition, I think the principles of our body are more dishonored, and the views we profess to hold more outraged, in the person of the President of that Association, than in those of any or all its other officers.

I am, with sincere esteem,
Yours, SAMUEL MAY.

THE PRODUCTS OF SLAVE LABOR.
PLYMOUTH, Feb. 27th, 1848.

FRIEND GARRISON:
I perceive among other interesting matters in the Liberator of the 10th, a communication from Lea. H. Gause, of Pennsylvania, soliciting your views and opinions in regard to the products of slave-labor by yourself and other advocates of the anti-slavery cause. Seeing no reply in the last number, as intimated, and supposing it to be crowded out by other matters, and having given the subject considerable reflection myself, without being able to arrive at any given point to which conscience would say, "Thus far shalt thou come," (with safety,) "no further"—and being desirous of more light, as well as others, on the subject, I should be glad if you or some others would freely express your views.

Friend Gause says—"To me, there has been no anti-slavery duty more clear, than that of abstaining (from the produce of slave-labor)—and signifies that he has practically adopted the motto of 'No Union with Slaveholders'—meaning to be understood, no doubt, as giving no voluntary aid to the system of slavery whatever.

Whether the writer keeps clear from any participation, and in any way from contributing to the support of slavery, because in more favorable circumstances, than many others who do not entirely abstain—or from fixed principles to abide the consequences, cost what it may—is a very different thing, in my opinion. But as that "duty is clear" to the writer of the communication, I hope its rays will shine into the minds of all the haters of slavery.

I think there are few persons, if any, in this section of the country, who have suffered more for the slave than myself; and I am yet suffering, in some degree, pressing onward to the extent of my ability to help the half-down-trodden; and if there is any thing more that I can do, than what I am doing, to benefit the cause, I am anxious to be made acquainted with it. I have, for a long time, made use of free labor produce, when it came in competition with slave labor produce; and I often pay higher prices for the former. But, as slave produce and taxation for slavery comes in so many forms, I think it is very difficult for me to avoid participating in it altogether. For instance—I have, for the last year and a half, spent more than three-fourths of my time lecturing on the subject of slavery, in different sections of this country. Much of the food placed before me, I have reason to believe, is mixed with the products of slave labor. If I ask whether it is free or slave labor, I get no satisfactory answer. At night, the only bed I can sleep in is mostly composed of the produce of slave labor. Most of the means by which I sustain myself and family, are the little profits I derive from the sale of anti-slavery publications, printed on slave-grown cotton.

As to the inscription contained in the above ornamental letter, that we have abandoned the doctrine of compensation, as laid down in the Declaration of Sentiments, because we found ourselves in a narrow place concerning "our dear friend, the noble-spirited Douglass," we have only to say that it is utterly false. Our views on this point are precisely the same now as they were in 1833.—ED. L.G.

Wilmington, Delaware, 2d mo. 26th, 1847.

ED.—As to the inscription contained in the above ornamental letter, that we have abandoned the doctrine of compensation, as laid down in the Declaration of Sentiments, because we found ourselves in a narrow place concerning "our dear friend, the noble-spirited Douglass," we have only to say that it is utterly false. Our views on this point are precisely the same now as they were in 1833.—ED. L.G.

I write a letter to my wife, or to you, friend Gar-

rison; and what do I write on, but paper manufactured from cotton raised by slave labor? And it reaches its destination by the direction of a slaveholder—*&c. &c.*

Again, if we try to evade the use of those slave grown articles, and substitute imported articles in their place, we are paying a tax to support a slaveholding government, all steeped in innocent blood, and now carrying on a diabolical war against a feeble government, for the sake of establishing permanently the traffic in helpless men, women and children on its soil, where it had been abolished by a half civilized people.

Yours, for the annihilation of slavery and war by all right means,

JONATHAN WALKER.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

The ransom of Douglass has drawn out Lindley Coates, with a host of others, in opposition to the course the Editor of the Liberator has taken in this case. But I think the Editor is right, and Lindley Coates and others wrong. The Editor, if I am not mistaken, has never reasoned in this way before, on the subject of compensation; and I presume never would, if circumstances had not compelled him. He was met in a narrow place. His dear friend, the noble-spirited Douglass, was in slavery; and compensation was the only means that could release him. He then could reason correctly; he could then make himself believe that it was right to buy a slave.—But the effort to reconcile the act with the Declaration of Sentiments of 1833, is a failure, or there is no meaning in words. The error that makes the difficulty is in the Declaration of Sentiments, and not in the reasoning of the Editor to justify the purchase of Douglass. The only objection I see is in the amount. I think it is seven times more than he could have been bought for, if an agency had been employed in Wilmington or Baltimore; but it is an evidence of high-toned generosity in those who paid the money, or who justify the act, which I feel right to sustain and support.

Lindley Coates reasons very logically; and if his position is admitted, "that it is wrong to buy a slave at all," there can be no doubt but his conclusions are correct. But I deny the position. The right or wrong of buying a slave depends upon circumstances; and a case might occur, in which it would be wrong not to buy a slave. There is, in his position, no provision made for necessity; and every body knows that necessity has no law, or that its mandates are superior to all law.

If Lindley Coates's wife or child was in the grasp of an unprincipled villain of despotic power, and there was nothing but silver or gold would soften his heart, does not every body believe, who knows him, that a moment of time under such circumstances would convert him into a slave-buyer?

The above statement will, I think, absolve the most of the members of the Association from any intentional participation in the election of a slaveholder to office. That it may show that we are sufficiently watchful, not sufficiently jealous of the honor of the religion they aim to serve, perhaps I must admit.

The erroneous doctrine which supposes we know how to act in such cases, independent of circumstances, is the cause of all the inconsistency and contrariety of opinion among its advocates. It is a doctrine founded on a false theory. Man is a finite being, of limited powers; and if he cannot do all he would, he ought to do that he can.

This opinion is not founded on the belief, that there is no stability or permanency in the great principles of right. It assumes that no man can tell whether an act is right or wrong, by an abstract view. The circumstances of the case must be placed before his mind, or he can never chose the right. What is right to-day, will be right to-morrow, under the same circumstances, and so in all future time. But the right and wrong in human actions depend on circumstances. A man in good health and spirits to-day, would be right in eating, drinking, and enjoying life; but to-morrow he may be sick, and then eating and drinking would produce pain, instead of enjoyment, and, of course, would be wrong not to eat or drink.

To buy a slave, in order to increase your own enjoyment, would be wrong; but to buy him, in order to increase his enjoyment, would be right. This is the true criterion to judge of right and wrong, good and evil. All abstract notions of right and wrong serve only to distract the human understanding, and create disputes, as we see in the present case. What is it, but vague and indistinct ideas of the principles of right, that could make such men as Lindley Coates and the Editor of the Liberator misunderstand each other in so plain a case?

If a system of ethics, or a constitution of obligations, is so loosely framed as to throw men of the best talents and purest motives into confusion, what must it do with minds of a lower order, with sinister motives and ungovernable passions?

Old organization abolitionists show to the world a rare specimen of the best men, with the highest attainments, possessing the most impractical notions of morals and politics, with a religion as pure as that of any other sect, but so overcharged with puritanical zeal, that it destroys much of the good fruits of expanded and liberal views.

It is to be hoped that the present dispute about the right or wrong of buying a slave, will advance their knowledge in morals, religion and human governments, and, above all, in charity for those who differ with them on those important subjects. For it cannot be supposed, that principles so unintelligible to the mass of mankind, that upon the least jar are liable to bring such men as Lindley Coates and the Editor into collision, are the best calculated to advance the cause of emancipation, and to increase the sum of human happiness in the world, by cementing all hearts and all hands in the bonds of universal brotherhood.

The rule to judge of right and wrong, in human actions, ought to be so plain, (and I believe it is,) that a way-faring man, though a fool, cannot err therein. It should appeal to the feelings and sensibilities, and not to the imagination. I do not object to the spiritual-minded man indulging in all the reveries of celestial imaginations, but let all this be a private affair between him and his Maker. To the feeble-lorn, let him speak in the language of the sensibilities. It can be of no use to urge the abstract principles of right and wrong as a rule for human actions. There is, perhaps, no better way than to judge a man, who is willing to suffer that others may enjoy, to be a good man; and he who is willing that others should suffer for his enjoyment, to be a bad man.

All mankind agree about things that are obvious to themselves; and when agreement is important, obligations founded upon abstinence and metaphysical reasoning should be avoided. While I am willing to award great merit to the Declaration of Sentiments of 1833, and the purest and best motives to its framers, I am constrained to say, that its want of clearness has been the cause of many refusing to place themselves under the restrictions that may be justly inferred from its language. I will terminate my article by quoting a sentiment from some strictures made upon it many years ago:—"That the slave has a right to immediate and unconditional emancipation, there can be no doubt; but the right of compensation, either to the master or the slave, must depend upon circumstances, and is consequently conditional."

B. WEBB.
Wilmington, Delaware, 2d mo. 26th, 1847.

ED.—As to the inscription contained in the above ornamental letter, that we have abandoned the doctrine of compensation, as laid down in the Declaration of Sentiments, because we found ourselves in a narrow place concerning "our dear friend, the noble-spirited Douglass," we have only to say that it is utterly false. Our views on this point are precisely the same now as they were in 1833.—ED. L.G.

I subscribe for an anti-slavery, or any other repressive periodical. It comes to me through a post office, managed by a slaveholder, printed on slave-grown cotton paper.

I write a letter to my wife, or to you, friend Gar-

THE CASE OF DOUGLASS.

FRIEND GARRISON:

I have read, with much interest, the arguments pro and con, respecting the ransoming of Frederick Douglass. When I first heard of the transaction, I was truly rejoiced that so useful an instrument in the anti-slavery cause was released from the liability of being again reduced to slavery. Some have said that he was already free. But was there a place in these United States, where the LAW would have protected him from the claims of his master? True, it might be said, he was worth of Mason and Dixon's line. But, was he less legally a slave on that account? H. C. Wright, in his letter to F. Douglass, gave us "any amount of indignation." Friend Coates reasons very plausibly, and discourses about its being wrong to compensate the slaveholder. Let these worthy friends just put themselves in the slave's stead; let them be subject to the caprice of Thomas Auld, or toiling in hopeless bondage in the rice swamps of Georgia; thinkest thou that either of them would object to being released by the ransom of some kind friend? Would they, under such circumstances, reason about the abstract propriety of paying for their freedom? If the slaveholder or the highwayman wrongfully take my liberty or purse, let him look to it. I think it right to redeem myself or my brother—to restore ourselves to ourselves, or to our families.

ED.—There will doubtless be some generous-minded persons, who, on reading this account, and learning the true situation of Mr. Moody, will feel a desire to convey to him some token of their sympathy, and appreciation of his benevolent intrepidity.

Any thing left for him at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill, or addressed to him at that place, will immediately put into his hands. Of course, we have no knowledge of any such intimation on our part; but a case like this presents itself not in the light of a favor or gratuity on the part of contributors, but as a debt of generous self-sacrifice which ought once to be cancelled, with interest.

ED.—We hope as many of the friends of Non-Resistance in Massachusetts, as are able to do so, will attend the following meeting, which we are confident will be highly interesting one.

NON-RESISTANCE MEETING.

A Quarterly Meeting of the New England Non-Resistance Society will be held at Mechanics' Hall, Providence, R. I., on the 10th day of March, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M. The friends of the cause, and all who desire to understand the principles of Christian Non-Resistance, are affectionately invited to attend.

ADIN BALLOU.

LECTURES IN LEOMINSTER.

William Lloyd Garrison will lecture in the Town Hall in Leominster, on Sunday next, March 7th, forenoon, afternoon and evening, at the usual hours, on Slavery, and kindred topics of Reform.

CAPTURE OF C. M. CLAY AND OTHERS.

MOUTH OF THE RIO GRANDE.

February 3, 1847.

The fate of Col. May's rear guard and baggage train have already heard of—but intelligence has just reached this place, too painfully true and well-authenticated, which proves that the enemy have opened on us in earnest, and that their hatred is mortal.

An ordinary runaway slave might come to the North, and be comparatively safe from being returned to slavery, by his obscurity. Not so with Frederick Douglass. Thou said truly—his case is sui generis.

Worcester, 2d mo. 23, 1847.

ANTI-SLAVERY LABOR.

FRANKLIN CITY, Feb. 17, 1847.

POETRY.

From Burritt's Christian Citizen.

FAME.

My father says to me one day, "I have enough to do, buy, The younger ones to clothe and feed, without the care of you, boy; So here's a dollar for your purse; your head's not over hollow; See, yonder is the road to wealth, which you may straitway follow."

The road to wealth lay duly East, and brought me to a city, In which I thought to stay awhile, and labor, more's the pity;

For there, while strolling down the street, I met a drum and fife, sirs;

It was the finest tune they played, I'd heard in all my life, sirs.

A sergeant came to me and said, "You are a sturdy youth, sir;

And such a brave and martial air, I never saw, in truth, sir;

Now if you wish a merry life, and lots of fame and glory,

Just sign this paper, and, my friend, the way is straight before ye."

I signed the paper; they began to drill me and to train me,

And with a crowd of other fools, I marched to join the army;

They dressed me in a uniform of red and blue and white, sirs;

We walked all day in heat and dust—slept on the ground at night, sirs.

At length we met a host of men, who seemed much such as we, sirs?

Folks said it was the "enemy"; think I, "What can that be, sirs?"

They drew us up upon level land, according to a plan,

sirs.

The enemy began to point their guns at every man,

sirs.

"Hallo!" cried I, "don't fire this way, this field is full of people!"

But first they did, and smoke rose up high as a village steafe!"

The bullets whistled past our ears, the small arms made a rattle;

A cannon ball took off my leg, and left me hors du battle.

The infantry ran over me; behind, a pack of horse-men,

W ho rolled me as they'd roll a log; I thought my self a lost man;

But when enough of fame was made, they stopped the agitation,

And sent me to the hospital, to suffer amputation.

Now, friend, if o'er the road to wealth lies straight and free before ye,

Keep safe your legs to travel there, and shun the way to glory;

This glory is a famous word for those who love toattle,

But quite another thing for those who're shot at in a battle.

From the Worcester Evening Budget.

W. A. R.

All those who have the power to kill,
Without a heart to fear,
Can bid adieu to home and friends,
And volunteer!

All those who love the wildest shrieks
And dying groans to hear,
Can satisfy their fiendish thirst,
And volunteer!

All those who wish to die in youth,
With none but strangers near,
Can never every kindred tie,
And volunteer!

Worcester, Feb. 8, 1847. HANNAH.

THE POOR MAN'S SUNDAY WALK.

BY CHARLES MACKAY.

The morning of our rest has come,
The sun is shining clear;
I see it on the steeple top;

Put on your shawl, my dear,
And let us leave the smoky town,
The dense and stagnant lane,
And take our children by the hand,

To see the children run.
We'll watch them gathering buttercups,
Or cowslips in the dell;

Or listen to the cheerful sounds
Of the far-off village bell;

And thank our God with grateful hearts,
Though in the fields we pray;

And bless the healthful breeze of heaven
On a sunny Sabbath day.

I'm weary of the stifling room,
Where all the week we're pent;

Of the alleys filled with wretched life,
And odors pestilential.

And long once more to see the fields,
And the grazing sheep and beavers;

To hear the lark amid the clouds,

And the wind among the leaves;

And all the sounds that gladd the air

The sounds that breathe of Peace and Love,
On a sunny Sabbath day.

For somehow, though they call it wrong,
In church I cannot kneel

With half the natural thankfulness

And piety I feel,

When out on such a day as this,

I lie upon the sod,

And think that every leaf and flower

Is grateful to its God;

That I who feel the blessing more,

Should thank him more than they,

That I can elevate my soul

On a sunny Sabbath day.

THE RECONCILIATION.

O, in a world all reconciled to God,

No dir of arms, nor garments rolled in blood,

Shall shock the peaceful soul. The oppressor's rod

Shall he lay down; and where abhorred he stood,

Loved shall he stand: for in fraternal mood

Shall he embrace the brother he oppressed,

Each find his joy in doing others good—

Man reekon him the greatest who is best,

And God be glorified when all on earth are blest.

REFORMATORY.

FAMINE IN IRELAND—WAR AND PEACE.

LONDON, January 20, 1847.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

Yesterday, we had our Queen's speech from the throne, or rather the ministers' formal nothings, and slightest possible indication of the prominent political or social exigencies of the day; it being customary to avoid, if possible, saying anything that should render an amendment upon "the humble, dutiful and loyal address" to the Throne, which it is usual to pass upon these occasions,—being a formal echo back to the executive, of their intention to do as they are requested. I send you the speech. You will see it is drawn attention to the starvation in Ireland, caused by the potato blight; which implies, as we know, the fact is, that Ireland had been so governed by her legislators and landlords,—who are, to a great extent, the same persons,—that her people had long been reduced to that cheap production, which Cobett, (1) looking to the use which our land-owners were making of it as a minimum food root, called the soul-degrading root. It is pig's food, when used as the main sustenance of the people! The people of Ireland raise provisions of all kinds in abundance, and of the best sort, and the practical result of the system under which they exist, stands thus—that those who raise the abundance, are compelled to raise it for their landlords—for tax-eaters—for a standing army and a permanent navy, used to keep the producers quiet, and supply the rent for the landlords and the commissions, and places and good quarters for the younger branches of these legislators and landlords, and the tithes for the State priests, appointed by these same landlords.

Thereupon arises a talk; and a repeal for one year of the 4s. duty, still imposed upon the importation of corn, is proposed, and the consequences of these iniquitous laws now being palpable, all parties begin to discover them.

The Whigs, the present party in power, talk of repealing for one year this 4s. Sir Robert Peel tells them—

"You know you supported the continuance of this 4s. to stop the mouth of the Protectionists"—that is, the landlords who had refused to support Peal in repealing the Corn Laws,—and Lord George Bentinck and others, who now lead that section of the late Tory party, speak of the 4s. duty as a master they no longer care about, and did not want. That is, they see they can no longer keep it, and affect to be taught the use of potatoes as a substitute for bread?

Cobett advocates the use of home-made bread.

I have never quite liked baker's bread, since I saw a great heavy fellow, in a bake-house in France, kneading bread with his naked feet! His look very white, to be sure: what he was, were of that color before he got into the trough, I could not tell. God forbid that I should suspect that this is ever done in England! It is labor; but what is exercise other than labor? Let a young woman bake a bushel once a week, and she will do very well without vials and galipotis."

LETTER FROM GEORGE COMBE, ESQ.

EDINBURGH, 25th November, 1846.

Mr. EBEN. AVERT,

South Reading, Mass., U. S. A.:

Dear Sir,—Your letter dated in July, reached

me only in October, and I beg to thank you for it, and the translation of Fourier's work which accompanied it.

This is an instance, showing that the people at least are getting wiser than they were. As to Cramow, who but must regret the fate of this lately called free city? You will observe we have protested against the conduct of Russia, but we have little ground for doing so, after consenting, by the treaty of Vienna, to give the Duchy of Warsaw to the Russian empire, with authority to do with the people as the Czar pleased.

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The marriage of the Infants of Spain and the Duke of Montpensier, and the extinction of the free State of Cracow, are spoken of as a violation of the treaty of Vienna. It is stated, nevertheless, that the Queen—that is to say, the Ministers—have the fullest confidence in the maintenance of peace. As friends of peace, you and your friends will be glad of this. As to the marriage of the French boy and the Spanish girl, I had not any expectation that that would lead to a war. Dynastic wars are going out of fashion. Princes and their family politics are no longer of the same importance in men's minds, that they once were.

You know the saying, "War is a game," that subjects we're wise, kings would not be allowed to play at.

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